MOTHER EARTH

Vol. X. December, 1915 No. 10

CONTENTS

	Page
To Our Readers	321
Observations and Comments	322
The Murder of Joseph Hillstrom — W. S. Van Valkenburgh	326
An Intimate Word to the Social Rebels of America — Alexander Berkman	328
Preparedness: The Road to Universal Slaughter — Emma Goldman	331
Why? — Gertrude Boyle	339
English Workers' Victory by Direct Action — Tom Mann	339
Emma Goldman in Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Washington	341
Prosecution Tactics in Schmidt Trial	346
In Defense of Caplan-Schmidt	348
Don't Submit!	350

EMMA GOLDMAN, - - Publisher and Editor

Office: 20 East 125th Street, New York City

Telephone, Harlem 6194

Price, 10 Cents per Copy One Dollar per Year

Digitized by Google Original from

ATTENTION!

San Francisco

INTERNATIONAL BALL

GIVEN AT

San Francisco Turn Verein Hall

2460 Sutter St., near Devisadero St.

Saturday Evening, January 15th, 1916

Admission 25 Cents

Proceeds for THE BLAST, the new weekly revolutionary labor paper to be issued in San Francisco, January 15th, 1916.

Google

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature
Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher and Editor, 20 East 125th Street.
New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. X **DECEMBER, 1915** **No. 10**

TO OUR READERS

Most all radical and revolutionary publications are compelled to do a lot of begging in order to exist. MOTHER EARTH being neither subsidized nor having party backing has been one paper that has spared its readers the constant drain of support. Now that the holidays are near and all our readers indulge in the luxury of giving presents, perhaps we may be permitted to urge you to combine the pleasant with the practical. Give your friends something that will develop their minds and help MOTHER EARTH at the same time.

First, we offer three yearly subscriptions for $2.00. Send us two names and use the opportunity of renewing your own subscription.

Secondly, America is about to be saddled with a costly and brutal militarism. Do something to prevent it. Get 100 copies of "Patriotism" or our new pamphlet on "Preparedness" and give them out among your young men friends or to high school and college boys whose minds are to be poisoned with the patriotic bug. It will only cost you $2.50 per hundred and you cannot render a greater service to the country.

Thirdly, why not spare your friends from bad literature when you can supply them with something good? Here is our special $1.50 offer: "Selected Works" by Voltairine de Cleyre, "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman and "Syndicalism" by Pataud & Pouget. Postage for the three, 20c.

Our $2.50 offer: "Spoon River Anthology" by Ed-

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

gar Lee Masters, the greatest poetic work since "Leaves of Grass," "The Poet in The Desert" by Charles Erskine Scott Wood, a strong propaganda work, and "Social Significance of the Modern Drama," by Emma Goldman. Postage 30c.

Our $5.00 offer to enrich a good library: "The Sexual Question" by August Forel, "The Intermediate Sex" by Edward Carpenter, "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" by Alexander Berkman, "The Anti Christ" and "Twilight of the Idols" by Friedrich Nietzsche. Postage 50c.

These offers are good only until the first of the year. Will you not avail yourself of them at once? Help your friends, do something for your ideal and make it just a little easier for MOTHER EARTH.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

CHURCHES, blustering charity, newspapers, Christmas story writers—all are busy vending their Christmas wares in their show windows. They will not spare us the usual yearly begging and trading campaign, conducted in the name of Christ, under the headline "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Man." How could they lose such a grand opportunity for selling, and for cheating their Christian brothers and sisters!

But all the Christmas phrases, piled up higher than the highest cathedral, will not cover up the fact that Christ's doctrine of love and peace is bankrupt. His coming into the world and his dying on the cross were utterly futile, worse than useless. His doctrine and martyrdom led up to so-called "Christian civilization." The cross spread the gospel over the planet. Behind the cross marched the crusader, the missionary, the priest, the trader and finally the soldier to kill and mutilate those who had the temerity to resist. The Christian Governments ruled the Earth, murdered the pagans, the unbelievers, robbed their lands until a fierce murderous competition arose among themselves. To turn out, in the most efficient manner, the most practical instruments for wholesale murder, to command the biggest army, became the great goal of governmental Christian civilization. And the worst of it all was, that the people, drilled,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

forced, intimidated and educated into Christian obedience, patriotism, nationalism had neither the intellectual nor material power or courage to resist the satanic design of the rulers of the Christian world.

The result of nearly 2000 years of dominating Christianity we observe now in all its glory. About fifteen million people have been slain and crippled. Whole countries are devastated, cities, villages, houses burned; the inhabitants scattered like bands of helpless beggars.

And still the cry for more and more munition, for more human cattle to be led to the slaughter house continues. From the munition industry huge profits and dividends are drawn. The German Kaiser, it was stated, has money invested in American war stocks. He draws profits from manufacturing munitions for the Allies, by means of which German *Landeskinder* are killed by the thousands. In England and Russia some speculators threw patriotism to the winds and used underhand methods in order to ship provisions to Germany by way of the neutral countries, also reaping large profits.

But the lion's share of the exceedingly high remuneration from the munition industry goes to the capitalists of the United States. And to climax this grim satire, all the citizens of this Christian republic were called upon in the Thanksgiving day proclamations to specially thank God for this brand of industrial progress and prosperity.

Indeed, Christianity looks a sight this Christmas of 1915! Consider the heathens', pagans', savages', cannibals' gruesome misdeeds, torture and bloodshed recorded in history and it will appear like naive childsplay compared with the efficient methods of Christian civilization to cripple and kill millions and millions of the children of God.

* * *

IN connection with an editorial on the trial of M. A. Schmidt in Los Angeles, "The Public," the Single Tax magazine, raises this question: "Is another Haymarket trial taking place?"

The writer says: "Unless satisfactorily explained, reports that are coming from the trial in Los Angeles of Mathew Schmidt, accused with David Caplan of complicity with the MacNamaras in dynamiting the Los Angeles Times Building, must necessarily cause doubt of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the fairness of his trial. Thus the Caplan-Schmidt Defense League sends an account of the examination of two prospective jurors. One, a retired capitalist, stated at the outset that it was his positive conviction that the Times Building had been intentionally destroyed by dynamite and that it would require strong evidence to change that conviction. He was challenged by the Defense for having a fixed opinion, but the challenge was denied by the Court. The other juror, a day laborer, stated his conviction that the building had been destroyed accidentally by gas, and that it would require strong evidence to make him believe the dynamite charge. He was challenged by the State for having a fixed opinion and the Court sustained the challenge over the objection of the Defense."

Meanwhile the Los Angeles Times is rejoicing over Judge Willis, who presides at the trial because he practically denies all motions of the defense to secure an impartial trial.

* * *

JAMES J. HILL, the great financier, speaks enthusiastically about this year's tremendous crop, which according to his estimate will be worth ten thousand million dollars.

And what good will the people reap from it? Will the starvelings be fed? Will the prices drop, so that the masses of the earners of small wages can buy enough nournishing food for themselves and their families? Far from it! That does not concern the great financiers. They look on the immense crop as upon a wonderful object for speculation. They want to sell as much as possible to the waring nations of Europe and thereby increase the prices of food-stuffs in this country. Soon we will hear that certain products are becoming "scarce on account of the war" and that "naturally" the prices must go up.

It seems almost true that the people *can be fooled all the time.*

* * *

REPORTS have it that in the Wisconsin State Home for feeble minded, at Chippewa Falls, operations for sterilization have been performed on ten male inmates. Their ages ranged from 15 to 30 years. More operations of the same kind will soon follow,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A year ago such an operation, performed by brutal force, would have been considered a hidious crime, but now it has become a "legal right of the state." A law has been passed, a new despotic monopoly created, which delivers the helpless victims into the hands of the executioners.

The ghastly consequences soon will loom up in the shape of increased degradation, humilation, extortion, revenge, suicide.

* * *

YOUNG men who contemplate for some reason or other to enlist in the army should first read and consider the following remark from Major General J. F. O'Ryan of the New York National Guard: "The greatest value of a trained soldiery came from the process that made them mere automatons, trained to do the bidding of their officers. The first thing that must be done is to destroy all initiative, and that with the training, fits men to be soldiers." Thank you General! And don't forget to paste your psychological analysis of soldiery in capital letters on the seductive recruiting posters, which are used to draw the boys to the recruiting offices.

* * *

THE advocates of preparedness and the militarists—two birds of the same feather anyway—discovered a new authority to back up their views and plans. Old prophet Ezekiel, fresh from the Bible, had to come to their assistance.

This biblical fossil, besides being a public nuisance and a miserable scold, who Xantippe would have envied, was a specialist in seeing fire, swords, and wheels in the air. That seems to be the reason why the militarists feel spiritually related to him, exhaling fire from their own nostrils while the wheels in their heads are turning round and round so rapidly that they upset all logic and reason.

* * *

IN a roadway of Tarrytown, N. Y., leading to the residence of John D. Archbold, president of Standard Oil, a quantity of dynamite has been found according to the newspapers. To this report was added: "no trace has been found of those who 'planted' the bomb."

That should be easy enough. Since the trial of the two

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

poor Italian boys, Carbone and Abarno, in which court and jury agreed that it is the sacred right of the police to buy dynamite, manufacture bombs, start conspiracies and induce poor fellows to plant the stuff—it should really not be difficult at all to deduce from what quarters bomb plotting probably originates.

* * *

THIS time the police of Paterson, N. J., was not omnipotent. The jury in the case of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, charged by the police with inciting to riot, rendered the verdict "not guilty"! To "get her" the police had digged out a three-year-old indictment, because E. G. Flynn insisted that she had the right to speak at any meeting she wanted. Whether this verdict will penetrate the dense brain of the Paterson police, so that they will "see the light" and cease to employ Russian methods. remains to be seen.

THE MURDER OF JOSEPH HILLSTROM

By W. S. VAN VALKENBURGH

THE powers of darkness have triumphed once more.

With the aid of its five hired assasins the State of Utah has vindicated itself. Law and order has emerged from a delicate situation and its fingers are red with the gore of a victim than whom no peer in courage stands for a gaping world to view.

Just as true as the planet's course was the fate of Joe Hill sealed and doomed from the day of his arrest.

One could not read even the press reports; teaming with a venom born of ruthless prejudice as they were, without being impressed with the farcical parody masquerading under the guise of justice that the details of the proceeding conveyed to him who could read with half an eye. With a degree of self-abandonment that is given to but few men to portray, early in the trial Hillstrom dramatically dismissed the two shyster lawyers who over-reached themselves in their anxiety to deliver the prey to the monster.

A condition that called from Hillstrom's subsequent lawyer—himself an ex-judge—a statement so bitterly

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

scathing to the court and its methods as that which appeared in print over Judge Hilton's signature, must surely be of a nature not destined to impress even loyal sheep with the sanctity of law manufactured in the Mormon state.

The rural gentleman who falls for the side-show shell game begets scant sympathy from his wiser friends. Yet those who, time and again have seen the cards stacked; witnesses bribed, jurymen bought and judges so blind with prejudice that case after case merely goes thru form and procedure; predestined and convicted beforehand; these same men, sad to say, have faith in courts, petititions and protests.

Not so in Joe's Hill's case. Brave, unflinching, confident to the point of recklessness, yet reconciled to the end that was so inevitable.

Justice! There is no justice in a world based on property rights. Expediency and example are its guiding stars of wisdom.

November has ever been a sombre month in the records of Proletarian progress. It was in November that five thousand Jews were slaughtered in Odessa during the pogrom of 1905. It was also in November that the Haymarket victims faced black oblivion in '87. But there have been other November events that demonstrated the turning of the worm, such as Humbert's sudden taking off in '78 as well as that of the arch-fiend Canajeles who paid with his life for his relentless brutality in 1912.

But this year the Tyrant conquered, and the Stoic lost.

There have been more important events in labour's struggle with might but there have been few more pathetic than Hillstrom's.

He was a genius in the rough. A poet who, in an alien tongue wrote prose and verse that stirred his fellows like the gale an aspen leaf. Homeless, moneyless, friendless—in the larger sense—the undaunted champion of an unpopular cause, framed up, convicted on flimsy circumstantial evidence; fore-doomed to destruction, and yet true to himself to the very last. Such a man was Joseph Hillstrom

Small wonder the "Times" editorially regrets that

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Hillstrom dead may be much more dangerous than Hillstrom alive. Were there just a handful of Hillstroms in accord to-day the forces behind the editors of such papers as the "Times" and its cohorts would not be in evidence, and those scribes could write as their consciences dictated instead of as the bosses command. Yes, were there just a few more Hillstroms in Salt Lake City on November 18 last there would have been no execution. There would have been retribution.

Pity on the state that must resort to the hire of five pigmy cowards to stand behind a screen and murder the man who dared defy to the end. Pity indeed does such a state need, for it is marked for early destruction.

Verily, will the spirit of Hillstrom permeate the groaning slaves in labour's ranks, and their arousing yawns will spell DEATH to the state and LIFE to the workers!

Hillstrom has not lived and died in vain.

* * *

AN INTIMATE WORD TO THE SOCIAL REBELS OF AMERICA

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

IT IS almost ten years since my resurrection from the living death of Pennsylvania.

I came out into a strange world, a world pregnant with new impressions and experiences.

But my strongest impression, I remember, was sharp disappointment with the condition of the revolutionary movement.

Too little progress had been made, I felt, in the long years of my absence. Too few were the workers.

That was my strongest impression, and the most lasting.

The years since have been busy with many activities, often crowded with intense experiences.

But the woof and warp of the whole fabric has been tinged with the strong blue of ever-present dissatisfaction with results.

For the thinking man it is necessary to pause now and then in his activities, to re-examine himself and his work, and gain the perspective of true values.

At such times it has seemed to me that there must be something wrong with—or, at least, something lacking in—our social philosophies and revolutionary ideals, or ourselves.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

If not, then why does their force and truth fail to sweep the world into a quickened march toward a freer and happier Day?

Thus, in leisure moments, I have been pondering and seeking the solution.

The last twelvemonth proved a searchlight.

Not that it discovered to me the stone of the wise which will transmute difficult human problems into simple axioms.

But it has shed light into some dark corners and helped to clarify and coördinate vague feelings and impressions.

Lecturing from coast to coast, and then recrossing the continent in behalf of the Caplan-Schmidt defense, presented exceptional opportunities for observation and thought.

Addressing many audiences from all walks of life, and for several months speaking three or four times daily before labor organizations, I came into more intimate contact with the great body of workers, with the rank and file, and also with the bulk of the revolutionary element of the country.

I have come out of the experience with two distinct impressions.

Among the social rebels I have found intense, almost bitter dissatisfaction with narrow party lines.

They are tired of the endless, fruitless discussion of theories and philosophies.

They hunger for application, for action. Among the rank and file of the workers I have found a strong rebellious spirit that chafes at old custom and antiquated methods. I found a wealth of emotion and hope that is crying for expression.

To get together these elements of dissatisfaction and rebellion, to voice the spirit of militancy, and crystalize it into action—that is the great need of the hour.

It *can* be done. It is up to the revolutionists to do it.

Too long we have talked and discussed the future. Meanwhile the powers of darkness have been gaining strength. They have undermined the spirit of resistance on the part of the people and riveted the fetters more securely.

Capital has grown more aggressive and dominant: Labor weaker and more submissive.

Militarism is sweeping the country. The young gen-

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

eration is to be molded into obedient slaves. The spirit of rebellion is to be crushed by military discipline and standing armies.

Moloch is in the saddle, and the people lie bleeding at his feet.

It is time, high time, for the rebels of America to wake up.

Let us turn our eyes to the present. The future will take care of itself.

To rouse the sleeping and inspire the waking, that is the mission of the social rebels. They are to uproot the old, to blast tradition and prejudice, revolutionize thought and feeling, and fire the hearts of the people with resistance to oppression and the yearning for liberty and life.

The best medium to accomplish this is a strong *revolutionary labor weekly,* that shall preach no ism but the breaking of chains, and that shall gather together the forces of rebellion throughout the country, give the militant spirit clear expression, and help it form itself into action.

Let the voice of rebellion be heard!

THE BLAST is to be such a voice.

It will propagate no isms.

It will speak frankly and unafraid the language of revolutionary labor.

It will deal with all the vital problems facing labor and the people at large.

It will be published by conscious rebels in San Francisco, with ALEXANDER BERKMAN as editor.

The first issue of THE BLAST will appear January 15th, 1916. It will be published weekly.

With the active assistance of those who realize the need of such a paper, THE BLAST hopes to become a powerful factor in the life of the country. By the aid of our friends it will find its way to the hearts of the people, especially among the rank and file of the workers, and may it thus blaze the path for the coming greater blast, the Social Revolution.

Address communications, subscription and contributions to THE BLAST, P. O. Box 661, San Francisco, Cal.

Price of subscription, $1.00 a year. For Canada and foreign countries, $1.25.

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER

By EMMA GOLDMAN

EVER since the beginning of the European conflagration, the whole human race almost has fallen into the deathly grip of the war anesthesis, overcome by the mad teaming fumes of a blood soaked chloroform, which has obscured its vision and paralyzed its heart. Indeed, with the exception of some savage tribes, who know nothing of Christian religion or of brotherly love, and who also know nothing of dreadnaughts, submarines, munition manufacture and war loans, the rest of the race is under this terrible narcosis. The human mind seems to be conscious of but one thing, murderous speculation. Our whole civilization, our entire culture is concentrated in the mad demand for the most perfected weapons of slaughter.

Ammunition! Ammunition! O, Lord, thou who rulest heaven and earth, thou God of love, of mercy and of justice, provide us with enough ammunition to destroy our enemy. Such is the prayer which is ascending daily to the Christian heaven. Just like cattle, panic-stricken in the face of fire, throw themselves into the very flames, so all of the European people have fallen over each other into the devouring flames of the furies of war, and America, pushed to the very brink by unscruplous politicians, by ranting demagogues, and by military sharks, is preparing for the same terrible feat.

In the face of this approaching disaster, it behooves men and women not yet overcome by the war madness to raise their voice of protest, to call the attention of the people to the crime and outrage which are about to be perpetrated upon them.

America is essentially the melting pot. No national unit composing it, is in a position to boast of superior race purity, particular historic mission, or higher culture. Yet the jingoes and war speculators are filling the air with the sentimental slogan of hypocritical nationalism, "America for Americans," "America first, last, and all the time." This cry has caught the popular fancy from one end of the country to another. In order to maintain

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

America, military preparedness must be engaged in at once. A billion dollars of the people's sweat and blood is to be expended for dreadnaughts and submarines for the army and the navy, all to protect this precious America.

The pathos of it all is that the America which is to be protected by a huge military force is not the America of the people, but that of the privileged class; the class which robs and exploits the masses, and controls their lives from the cradle to the grave. No less pathetic is it that so few people realize that preparedness never leads to peace, but that it is indeed the road to universal slaughter.

With the cunning methods used by the scheming diplomats and military cliques of Germany to saddle the masses with Prussian militarism, the American military ring with its Roosevelts, its Garrisons, its Daniels, and lastly its Wilsons, are moving the very heavens to place the militaristic heel upon the necks of the American people, and, if successful, will hurl America into the storm of blood and tears now devastating the countries of Europe.

Forty years ago Germany proclaimed the slogan: "Germany above everything. Germany for the Germans, first, last and always. We want peace; therefore we must prepare for war. Only a well armed and thoroughly prepared nation can maintain peace, can command respect, can be sure of its national integrity." And Germany continued to prepare, thereby forcing the other nations to do the same. The terrible European war is only the culminating fruition of the hydra-headed gospel, military preparedness.

Since the war began, miles of paper and oceans of ink have been used to prove the barbarity, the cruelty, the oppression of Prussian militarism. Conservatives and radicals alike are giving their support to the Allies for no other reason than to help crush that militarism, in the presence of which, they say, there can be no peace or progress in Europe. But though America grows fat on the manufacture of munitions and war loans to the Allies to help crush Prussians the same cry is now being raised in America which, if carried into national action, would build up and American militarism far more ter-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

rible than German or Prussian militarism could ever be, and that because nowhere in the world has capitalism become so brazen in its greed and nowhere is the state so ready to kneel at the feet of capital.

Like a plague, the mad spirit is sweeping the country, infesting the clearest heads and staunchest hearts with the deathly germ of militarism. National security leagues, with cannon as their emblem of protection, naval leagues with women in their lead have sprung up all over the country, women who boast of representing the gentler sex, women who in pain and danger bring forth life and yet are ready to dedicate it to the Moloch War. Americanization societies with well known liberals as members, they who but yesterday decried the patriotic clap-trap of to-day, are now lending themselves to befog the minds of the people and to help build up the same destructive institutions in America which they are directly and indirectly helping to pull down in Germany—militarism, the destroyer of youth, the raper of women, the annihilator of the best in the race, the very mower of life.

Even Woodrow Wilson, who not so long ago indulged in the phrase "A nation too proud to fight," who in the beginning of the war ordered prayers for peace, who in his proclamations spoke of the necessity of watchful waiting, even he has been whipped into line. He has now joined his worthy colleagues in the jingo movement, echoing their clamor for preparedness and their howl of "America for Americans." The difference between Wilson and Roosevelt is this: Roosevelt, a born bully, uses the club; Wilson, the historian, the college professor, wears the smooth polished university mask, but underneath it he, like Roosevelt, has but one aim, to serve the big interests, to add to those who are growing phenominally rich by the manufacture of military supplies.

Woodrow Wilson, in his address before the Daughters of the American Revolution, gave his case away when he said, "I would rather be beaten than ostracized." To stand out against the Bethlehem, du Pont, Baldwin, Remington, Winchester metallic cartridges and the rest of the armament ring means political ostracism and death. Wilson knows that; therefore he betrays his original position, goes back on the bombast of "too proud to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

fight" and howls as loudly as any other cheap politician for preparedness and national glory, the silly pledge the navy league women intend to impose upon every school child: "I pledge myself to do all in my power to further the interests of my country, to uphold its institutions and to maintain the honor of its name and its flag. As I owe everything in life to my country, I consecrate my heart, mind and body to its service and promise to work for its advancement and security in times of peace and to shrink from no sacrifices or privation in its cause should I be called upon to act in its defence for the freedom, peace and happiness of our people."

To uphold the institutions of our country—that's it—the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robbery and plunder of the masses, the institutions which drain the blood of the native as well as of the foreigner, and turn it into wealth and power; the institutions which rob the alien of whatever originality he brings with him and in return gives him cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in mediocrity and arrogance.

The very proclaimers of "America first" have long before this betrayed the fundamental principles of real Americanism, of the kind of Americanism that Jefferson had in mind when he said that the best government is that which governs least; the kind of America that David Thoreau worked for when he proclaimed that the best government is the one that doesn't govern at all; or the other truly great Americans who aimed to make of this country a haven of refuge, who hoped that all the disinherited and oppressed people in coming to these shores would give character, quality and meaning to the country. That is not the America of the politician and munition speculators. Their America is powerfully portrayed in the idea of a young New York Sculptor; a hard cruel hand with long, lean, merciless fingers, crushing in over the heart of the immigrant, squeezing out its blood in order to coin dollars out of it and give the foreigner instead blighted hopes and stulted aspirations.

No doubt Woodrow Wilson has reason to defend these institutions. But what an ideal to hold out to the young generation! How is a military drilled and trained people to defend freedom, peace and happiness? This is

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

what Major General O'Ryan has to say of an efficiently trained generation: "The soldier must be so trained that he becomes a mere automation; he must be so trained that it will destroy his initiative; he must be so trained that he is turned into a machine. The soldier must be forced into the military noose; he must be jacked up; he must be ruled by his superiors with pistol in hand."

This was not said by a Prussian Junker; not by a German barbarian; not by Treitschke or Bernhardi, but by an American Major General. And he is right. You cannot conduct war with equals; you cannot have militarism with free born men; you must have slaves, automatons, machines, obedient disciplined creatures, who will move, act, shoot and kill at the command of their superiors. That is preparedness, and nothing else.

It has been reported that among the speakers before the Navy League was Samuel Gompers. If that is true, it signalizes the greatest outrage upon labor at the hands of its own leaders. Preparedness is not directed only against the external enemy; it aims much more at the internal enemy. It concerns that element of labor which has learned not to hope for anything from our institutions, that awakened part of the working people which has realized that the war of classes underlies all wars among nations, and that if war is justified at all it is the war against economic dependence and political slavery, the two dominant issues involved in the struggle of the classes.

Already militarism has been acting its bloody part in every economic conflict, with the approval and support of the state. Where was the protest of Washington when "our men, women and children" were killed in Ludlow? Where was that high sounding outraged protest contained in the note to Germany? Or is there any difference in killing "our men, women and children" in Ludlow or on the high seas? Yes, indeed. The men, women and children at Ludlow were working people, belonging to the disinherited of the earth, foreigners who had to be given a taste of the glories of Americanism, while the passengers of the Lusitania represented wealth and station—therein lies the difference.

Preparedness, therefore, will only add to the power of the privileged few and help them to subdue, to enslave

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and crush labor. Surely Gompers must know that, and if he joins the howl of the military clique, he must stand condemned as a traitor to the cause of labor.

Just as it is with all the other institutions in our confused life, which were supposedly created for the good of the people and have accomplished the very reverse, so it will be with preparedness. Supposedly, America is to prepare for peace; but in reality it will be the cause of war. It always has been thus—all through blood-stained history, and it will continue until nation will refuse to fight against nation, and until the people of the world will stop preparing for slaughter. Preparedness is like the seed of a poisonous plant; placed in the soil, it will bear poisonous fruit. The European mass destruction is the fruit of that poisonous seed. It is imperative that the American workers realize this before they are driven by the jingoes into the madness that is forever haunted by the spectre of danger and invasion; they must know that to prepare for peace means to invite war, means to unloose the furies of death over land and seas.

That which has driven the masses of Europe into the trenches and to the battlefields is not their inner longing for war; it must be traced to the cut-throat competition for military equipment, for more efficient armies, for larger warships, for more powerful cannon. You cannot build up a standing army and then throw it back into a box like tin soldiers. Armies equipped to the teeth with weapons, with highly developed instruments of murder and backed by their military interests, have their own dynamic functions. We have but to examine into the nature of militarism to realize the truism of this contention.

Militarism consumes the strongest and most productive elements of each nation. Militarism swallows the largest part of the national revenue. Almost nothing is spent on education, art, literature and science compared with the amount devoted to militarism in times of peace, while in times of war everything else is set at naught; all life stagnates, all effort is curtailed; the very sweat and blood of the masses are used to feed this insatiable monster—militarism. Under such circumstances, it must become more arrogant, more aggressive, more bloated with its own importance. If for no other reason, it is

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

out of surplus energy that militarism must act to remain alive; therefore it will seek an enemy or create one artificially. In this civilized purpose and method, militarism is sustained by the state, protected by the laws of the land, is fostered by the home and the school, and glorified by public opinion. In other words, the function of militarism is to kill. It cannot live except through murder.

But the most dominant factor of military preparedness and the one which inevitably leads to war, is the creation of group interests, which consciously and deliberately work for the increase of armament whose purposes are furthered by creating the war hysteria. This group interest embraces all those engaged in the manufacture and sale of munition and in military equipment for personal gain and profit. For instance, the family Krupp, which owns the largest cannon munition plant in the world; its sinister influence in Germany, and in fact in many other countries, extends to the press, the school, the church and to statesmen of highest rank. Shortly before the war, Carl Liebknecht, the one brave public man in Germany now, brought to the attention of the Reichstag that the family Krupp had in its employ officials of the highest military position, not only in Germany, but in France and in other countries. Everywhere its emissaries have been at work, systematically inciting national hatreds and antagonisms. The same investigation brought to light an international war supply trust who cares not a hang for patriotism, or for love of the people, but who uses both to incite war and to pocket millions of profits out of the terrible bargain.

It is not at all unlikely that the history of the present war will trace its origin to this international murder trust. But is it always necessary for one generation to wade through oceans of blood and heap up mountains of human sacrifice that the next generation may learn a grain of truth from it all? Can we of to-day not profit by the cause which led to the European war, can we not learn that it was preparedness, thorough and efficient preparedness on the part of Germany and the other countries for military aggrandizement and material gain; above all can we not realize that preparedness in America must and will lead to the same result, the same barbarity, the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

same senseless sacrifice of life? Is America to follow suit, is it to be turned over to the American Krupps, the American military cliques? It almost seems so when one hears the jingo howls of the press, the blood and thunder tirades of bully Roosevelt, the sentimental twaddle of our college-bred President.

The more reason for those who still have a spark of libertarianism and humanity left to cry out against this great crime, against the outrage now being prepared and imposed upon the American people. It is not enough to claim being neutral; a neutrality which sheds crocodile tears with one eye and keeps the other riveted upon the profits from war supplies and war loans, is not neutrality. It is a hypocritical cloak to cover, the countries' crimes. Nor is it enough to join the bourgeois pacifists, who proclaim peace among the nations, while helping to perpetuate the war among the classes, a war which in reality, is at the bottom of all other wars.

It is this war of the classes that we must concentrate upon, and in that connection the war against false values, against evil institutions, against all social atrocities. Those who appreciate the urgent need of co-operating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the state and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the state. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top. That alone leads to true internationalism of labor against Kaiserdom, Kingdom, diplomacies, military cliques and bureaucracy. That alone will give the people the means to take their children out of the slums, out of the sweat shops and the cotton mills. That alone will enable them to inculcate in the coming generation a new ideal of brotherhood, to rear them in play and song and beauty; to bring up men and women, not automatons. That alone will enable woman to become the real mother of the race, who will give to the world creative men, and not soldiers who destroy. That alone leads to economic and social freedom, and does away with all wars, all crimes, and all injustice.

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

WHY!

By GERTRUDE BOYLE

HE is dead, that fearless one, yet he is not gone!
For in our minds dwells the vision, in our hearts the spirit of that dauntless champion of the Truth.
He died facing the guns!
Yet his gaze rested not on them, but travelled out to the Light beyond.
His clear, keen vision penetrated the dark chaos of the Ignorance confronting him, the Avarice that shot him down.
He saw a star gleam fixedly above the deep black hole Spite and Fear entombed him, and he knew that star would not dim,
But guide the groping men of the Earth to the manger, to the cradle of Freedom, where ever dwells the infant Truth. . . .
And lo! in every ear shall echo, in every questioning mind,—why? why? why have they done thus with him?
And the very force and persistency of that WHY shall unveil the Truth, unearth the mad Injustice, the crouching Tyranny beneath such foul act. . . .
Ah, you tremble, O Governor, in your judgment seat!
You forgot that e'en Pontius Pilate washed his hands of it. . . .

Dead!—that fearless one,—
Yet he is not gone!

* * *

Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Cotton Operatives Get an Advance by Direct Action

By TOM MANN

THE biggest question we are confronted with in Britain just now is the prospect of conscription, the determination to bring this about is very strong with many capitalists, politicians and newspaper contributors. You will be aware that the authorities have decided to try more rigorous methods to get soldiers, if volunteers in sufficient number have not enlisted for the army by the end of November. Meanwhile in certain areas strong attempts are being made to enlist men into

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Industrial Battalions particularly in connection with Transport Workers. At the present time insidious attempts are hourly made to cajole and to coerce the Carters of Liverpool to don Khaki and line up as government slaves.

This is being done, not openly and above board but in hole and corner fashion; calling union officials in to confer and holding out dire prospects as to what will take place unless the Carters agree. The plea put up is that congestion exists for lack of adequate organization and number of carters to meet the requirements of the government at the Docks; the truth being that any congestion that exists is directly traceable to faulty storage and warehouse accomodations and management. I am glad to tell readers of Mother Earth that very great courage is being shown by the carters any many other workers in refusing to submit to joint dictation of government officials and that of bosses posing as patriots.

An encouraging incident is that of the cotton opertatives of Lancashire who put in a claim for a five per cent. increase in wages. The employers refused to grant anything. On several occasions the employees approached them and offered to submit the case to arbitration; but the bosses absolutely refused; the workers who are well organized and 250,000 (two hundred and fifty thousand) in number then decided to "strike" at certain mills in various districts and to conduct a series of fights to secure their end. Preparations were completed and business clearly meant. Then the employers sent to the men and agreed to discuss the matter and settled as follows:

The employers agree to give a war bonus of 5 per cent. on the prices paid for weaving by the uniform list and Colne coloured goods list, and a similar bonus to those engaged in the weaving of towels, quilts, sheetings, and cotton blankets, and to weavers, reelers, and beamers, whose wages rise or fall with the weavers' wages.

The employers also agree to give a war bonus of 5 per cent. to twisters and drawers and overlookers who are paid standing wages, to cloth lookers, warehousemen and other odd hands employed in the weaving section of the trade.

Where the wages are paid on the basis of a list the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

war bonus is to be an addition of 5 per cent. on such a list. In the case of weavers in the grey trade who are paid on the uniform list the weaving price (whilst the war bonus is in operation) will be the uniform list plus 10 per cent., and in the case of weavers in the coloured trade who are paid by the Colne coloured goods list, the weaving price for coloured stripes will be on the coloured goods list plus 12½ per cent., and the weaving price for coloured checks will be Colne coloured goods list plus 7½ per cent., whilst the bonus is in operation.

The pity is that whilst the cotton operatives are repeatedly having experiences showing the efficiency of Direct Action for the most part they still attach unwarrantable importance to State Machinery.

In South Wales just now there is the keenest competition amongst the Labor Leaders to be selected as Candidates to fill the position of M. P. made vacant by the death of Keir Hardie, but for all that there is an increasing number of clear minded men realizing the true inport of the State and the way in which it ever serves the interests of the dominant class.

TWO TUESDAYS IN PHILADELPHIA

By HARRY BOLAND

TWO Tuesdays are indelibly impressed upon the minds of Philadelphians as affording the greatest possible contrast and as refuting the oft-repeated assertion that the day of miracles is passed. On the first Tuesday in question, September 28th, 1909; Emma Goldman was denied the right to use that peculiarly American commodity known as free speech, and on the other Tuesday, October 26th 1915, the same Emma Goldman exercised that universal right in one of the most select halls in the same Philadelphia. And the miracle was wrought by a purely human agency working in a wholly human manner. The Free Speech League under Commodore Schroeder trained its batteries upon this port and we surrendered. No one here wanted to antagonize Miss Goldman anyway, but the police—well the police is the same doughty knight of windmills the world over. And so Emma Goldman spoke in Philadelphia to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

audiences that filled the spacious hall, to students, to those who know and to those who wish to know.

To be sure the Liberty Bell was absent, that precious relic having been junketed, glass case and all to San Francisco that it, too, might obey the voice of Ezekiel of old. Then, too, Saint Anthony is now in hell where he will be spared the eternal torment of gazing upon his victims.

Miss Goldman's Lecture was upon "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter" and since she went not back to the antediluvian prophets for inspiration we had a notably fine lecture upon the curse of militarism. Labor forever the cat's paw of the powers that be. Burnt fingers for the workers and juicy chestnuts for the masters. Chestnuts!

The following evening we were reminded more forcibly that Comstockism is rotting even in the United States. The subject which Miss Goldman chose for discussion was "Birth Control." "There are flashes struck from midnights" says Robert Browning, but no "fire-flames noon-day kindle" were more illuminating than this exhaustive lecture on a vital subject by a great woman. That a decent treatment of a theme based upon sex relationship is no longer considered obscene seems hard to realize. Upon the Bed Rock Bottom placed, after bitter struggles, by Moses Harmon is founded The House of Truth in which we lounge and languish. Again we see the face of Ida Craddock triumphant in her coffin although placed there by Comstock.

Emma Goldman gave three lectures here, the last being upon "Friedrich Nietzsche, the Intellectual Storm Center of Europe." It is in this lecture more than in the others that Miss Goldman gives us of herself. Rarely, if ever, does one find a speaker more in harmony with the subject. At present Nietzsche serves nations and individuals (who do not read him and would not understand him if they did) with an excuse for every form of self-centered pitiless brutality and greed. "I am a Niezschean" is said in extenuation of a great many selfish acts. But for a synthetic interpretation of the real Nietzsche and for an exposition of his philosophy one listens to Emma Goldman in silence.

It is hardly necessary to report that the Yiddish meetings were attended by large crowds, especially the one

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

on "Misconception of Free Love." A thousand people jammed the large hall and listened intently.

The visit of E. G. has encouraged every one to the extent of attempting a course of lectures—one in English and one in Yiddish every week, beginning January 12th for a number of weeks. Surely Philadelphia has the same potentialities as other cities. If only we will peg away, people are bound to realize the beauty of anarchism.

* * *

THE DEADLY PLACIDITY OF WASHINGTON AROUSED

By LILLIAN KISLUIK

LIKE a fresh breeze, Emma Goldman rippled the deadly placidity of Washington last Spring and the buds of promise awakened then have burst into full bloom during her presence here this Fall. Washington has stood the test of seven consecutive lectures, which is indeed phenomenal for this city. That it was not mere curiosity, but deep interest, is shown by the amount of literature that was sold and the fact that Miss Goldman has been invited to return to this city in January to give a series of seven lectures on drama, over one hundred persons having already subscribed.

The term "Anarchism" to many still means nothing but destruction and violence. When they finally pluck up enough courage or are urged by great curiosity to hear this much talked of exponent of such shocking ideas, and hear thoughts that are perhaps new to them but which appeal to their sense of justice, reason and sympathy—uttered by a personality quite different from what they had imagined according to newspaper reports —whose earnestness, sincerity and enthusiasm awaken a corresponding spark of fire in her hearers to be up and doing, they are taken by storm. As one woman in the audience expressed it, "If Emma Goldman is an Anarchist, if the thoughts which she expressed stand for Anarchism, then I am and have been an Anarchist without knowing it."

It seems that the management of Pythian Temple thought that the police had not performed their duty properly in merely placing a policeman and detective to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

guard the meetings, so they took it upon themselves to refuse Miss Goldman their halls for any further lectures. When this was announced at the last lecture, one woman in the audience quickly arose and generously offered her home in case difficulty should be experienced in securing another hall. This action on the part of the Board of Directors really came as a surprise, as Pythian Temple is the headquarters of a number of radical organizations, one of which, the Secular League, offers a free platform to all. When the President put before this League the matter of having Emma Goldman lecture before them on "The Philosophy of Atheism," the most strenuous opposition was offered by a prominent speaker of the Socialist Party here, by the name of Pierce, who also surprised the members by just as strongly opposing the matter of protesting against the Board of Director's action in refusing Miss Goldman their halls. Pierce, however, has been very anxious to have a representative of the Navy League speak on Preparedness before the Secular League so that he might have the pleasure of refuting her arguments (Free speech for himself, but not for Miss Goldman); these actions on the part of Pierce are quite in harmony with his statement that the Socialist Party should not interest itself in birth control but on the other hand should follow the example of the Catholics in encouraging its women to breed as many little Socialists as possible.

We needed Miss Goldman here before, but now she is really indispensable to keep alive the sparks of radical thought she has kindled.

* * *

PITTSBURG

By GRACE LOAN

LAST year Emma Goldman spoke in Pittsburg, and we all arrived at the same conclusion: That Pittsburg was intellectually dead. But lo! this year the miracle has happened, and Pittsburg the impossible, the despair of all lecturers (radical and otherwise) proved that she wasn't dead but merely slumbering.

As a proof of her awakening this year many new comrades have been added, a series of drama lectures by Miss Goldman has been made possible and subscriptions

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to Mother Earth have increased 100%. Pittsburg is bidding for a place on the intellectual map!

The first lecture, delivered on "Birth Control or the Prevention of Conception" was listened to by a large audience.

The second lecture of the series, "Preparedness—the road to Universal Slaughter" drew the smallest crowd of the five nights. Just why this should be true when a subject so vital to the mass of people was under discussion is rather hard to explain. However the sale of literature was bigger than that usually accorded to a very large audience, showing that E. G's masterly handling of the subject had at any rate awakened the interest of those in attendance.

The third lecture was upon the "Follies of the Women's Rights Movement."

Thursday the date of the fourth lecture, fell upon that memorable day—The 11th of November. At noon E. G. delivered a lecture upon "Preparedness" at a street meeting in East Pittsburg to the shell makers, etc. At least 3,000 of the Westinghouse workers listened to her with eagerness, applauding enthusiastically contrary to all precedent, they stayed (despite the fact that a number of the bosses were in the audience) after the whistle had blown calling them back to their labor. Small pamphlets, "Anarchism," "Patriotism," "Syndicalism" and "Mother Earth" were offered for sale and quickly sold.

The evening of the 11th of Nov. 1915, will always stand out to me vividly for upon that night I heard Emma Goldman in all the glory of her eloquence, speak of the death of our comrades—Spies, Fischer, Lingg, Engel. and Parsons.

Comrades Jacob Margolis and William Wycis, both well known to Pittsburgers as able speakers, delivered short and pointed addresses, (the latter in Polish) upon the general subject of the evening. Miss Dorothy Rubenstein's reading of Giovannitti's "Thinker" was well delivered and well received.

The last of the five lectures was delivered upon "The Immorality of Prohibition and Continence." The close attention of the vast crowd was held from the start. Pitt and Teoh students were much in evidence, and as many as eleven Professors from one school alone were counted.

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A simple appeal for funds for the defence of Caplan and Schmidt was met with a ready and generous contribution. The literature continued at the very high rate peculiar to the five nights of the lectures. Altogether it was a most wonderful week. . .a week of splendid progress for the Cause.

* * *

DASTARDLY PROSECUTION TACTICS IN THE MATHEW SCHMIDT TRIAL

THE death of Chas. A. Fairall, chief counsel for Mathew A. Schmidt, proved an unexpected blow to the defense.

On account of the loss of their chief, the defense succeeded in securing the suspension of the trial for two weeks. Meanwhile the friends of Schmidt engaged the services of two other prominent San Francisco attorneys: Nathan Coghlan and Edwin V. McKenzie, criminal lawyers of State-wide reputation.

The trial was resumed on November 3d, with the examination and the selection of more talesmen for the jury. Defense counsel renewed their demand that a new panel be drawn, to include also non-property holding citizens—a demand in accordance with the new California law relative to the drawing of talesmen. But presiding Judge Willis, whose bias against the defense is only too obvious, ruled against it.

The venire, from which the Schmidt jury are being chosen, is therefore limited only to property holders, which significant circumstance needs no further comment.

But the prosecution is resorting to even more dastardly methods to secure the conviction of Brother Schmidt. They have called into session a Special Grand Jury, and the witnesses of the defense are being dragged before it, to be intimidated and bulldozed in secret chambers.

These proceedings are not only admitedly illegal, but are in open defiance of all the rights of witnesses, and are a shameless attempt to tamper with their testimony.

The defense counsel have made a strong protest to this effect and the affidavits submitted by them to the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Judge directly involve Attorney Woolvine, special prosecutor Noel, and their henchmen in this outrage.

To cover up these underhand methods of seeking evidence to bolster up its case against Mathew Schmidt, the prosecution now declare that the Grand Jury activities are for the purpose of involving O. A. Tveitmoe, the well-known Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Council of California, in the LOS ANGELES TIMES affair.

This new move of the Merchants & Manufacturers Association unmasks the *real* motive of the Masters back of the present trial.

In view of these outrageous proceedings, it is up to the workers everywhere to redouble their efforts in behalf of Brothers Schmidt and Caplan, our Prisoners of War, in whose persons the enemy is seeking to punish Labor at large.

P. S.—Secretaries of Labor Organizations and of Caplan-Schmidt Defense Leagues are requested to send regular reports of their activities to E. B. Morton, Publicity Agent, 712 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

* * *

JUDAS

IN connection with the trial of M. A. Schmidt one "Donald Voss" is mentioned in the reports. Formerly he called himself Donald Vose or Vorse, also Meserve. His mother's name is Gertrude Vose of Home, Wash.

He became acquainted with Schmidt in New York, where it now appears that he was specially sent by the Burns detective agency to locate Schmidt. Before coming to New York he had enjoyed Caplan's hospitality on his little chicken farm near Seattle. It was he who turned up both Schmidt and Caplan to Burns. It is understood that he had received $2,500 at the time of their arrest, and that he has been promised a similar sum for taking the witness stand against them.

He was one of the crowd that visited Tarrytown and he had also gone to the 4th of July picnic in New Jersey, in 1914, given by the Ferrer School. A group

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

photograph was taken there on that occasion and his picture appears in it in the background. It is well that information about Donald Vose, alias Meserve or Vorse, turning out to be a Burns' detective should be spread broadcast.

More about the Judas may be published in the next issue of Mother Earth.

* * *

RALLY TO THE DEFENSE OF CAPLAN AND SCHMIDT

THERE are very few men and women in the labor world, either as workers or otherwise, who have not heard of the now famous case of David Caplan and Mathew Schmidt. But as with all matters in which the workers should take an active and passionate interest, this most important of all cases has received only a fraction of the support that it legitimately deserves. It appears as almost unthinkable that in New York, where the struggle of labor against capital is so intense, so unrelenting and above all so class-conscious, there should be necessary any kind of an appeal for support and action. This appeal is not for another. It is for yourself! The fight is not another's. It is yours! The duty is not another's. It is your own! Remember, it is yours, and if you are at all deserving of the struggles and sufferings of others on your behalf, you will heed our call. It is up to you now!

Caplan and Schmidt indicted by a grand jury in Los Angeles, where the most corrupt influences were used to obtain their indictment. The jury was packed with labor-haters and was directed by a Distict Attorney who, like all District Attorneys, fights on the side of Capital.

Do you remember the case of the seven cloakmakers? Do you remember what the District Attorney did there? He tried to do his best, namely to send the labor men to the Electric Chair. Did he succeed? No! And, do you know why? He failed simply because the working class raised its loud and mighty voice in protest. PROTEST. Do you hear? Do you understand? And the seven workers were freed.

Caplan and Schmidt were indicted. Will you let the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

District Attorney and the blood-hounds and the gangsters and the money-sharks of Los Angeles hang your brothers by the neck until dead? Will you?

Then raise your voices in a mighty protest. Let the capitalists of California hear that Caplan and Schmidt are not alone. Let them hear that they have brothers and sisters 3000 miles away, who will demand justice. Let them hear that not only Caplan and Schmidt are to be reckoned with, but the entire labor movement of America.

Can you be quiet while they tie the noose around your brothers' necks. Can you eat, sleep and enjoy yourself while your brothers who have sacrificed themselves for you are lying in prison for months and months; and who may soon lie in the graves that graft and corruption is digging for them?

Wake up! Wake up! Do not wait! Every minute counts. To-morrow may be too late. Now is the time.

Help your brothers. It is your holiest duty. Help your brothers and your Cause. We need your help, financially and morally.

They are already preparing the gallows. Help now and stop it!

There are millions of dollars on the side of corruption, fighting against Caplan and Schmidt. We have nothing. To fight the money powers, we must have money too. We must let our brothers of the West know that in New York City the workers will help. We need $10,000! We need more than that. But that we must have. Give us what you can. More or less, whatever you can. Send it to the treasurer of the Conference, Comrade Bernard Sernaker, 123 East 100th Street, c/o Blecher, New York City.

The Conference meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 P. M. at 209 East Broadway. If your organization is not as yet represented, see that you elect two delegates at your next meeting. Come and help us in this struggle for freedom, for the cause of justice, for the cause of humanity.

Fraternally yours,

LOUISE BERGER,
LEO SIGAL,
ABRAHAM BLECHER,
Press Committee.

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DON'T SUBMIT!

IT is right and necessary to attack tyranny, organized violence and privileged exploitation in every shape and form. Still, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that the real basis of tyranny is not so much the special "badness" or ferocity of the tyrants, but the servitude and the humiliating obedience of the tyrannized.

Oppression by the few is the result of submission by the many.

A French thinker, Stephen de la Boetie, who lived about 300 years ago, knew that. He wrote a treatise—"Le Contre Un"—in which some passages may possibly have more significance to-day than they had three centuries ago:

"He who so plays the master over you has but two eyes, has but two hands, has but one body, has nothing more than the least among the vast number who dwell in our cities; nothing has he better than you, save the advantage that you give him that he may ruin you. Whence has he so many eyes to watch you, but that you give them to him? How has he so many hands to strike you, but that he employs your own? How does he come by the feet which trample on your cities, but by your means? How can he have any power over you, but what you give him? How could he venture to persecute you, if he had not an understanding with yourselves? What harm could he do you if you were not receivers of the robber that plunders you, accomplices of the murderer who kills you and traitors to your own selves? You, who sow the first fruits of the earth, that he may waste them; you furnish your houses, that he may pillage them; you rear your daughters, that they may glut his wantonness, and your sons, that he may lead them at the best to his arms, or that he may send them to execution, or make them the instruments of his revenge. You exhaust your bodies with labor, that he may revel in luxury or wallow in base and vile pleasures; you weaken yourselves, that he may become strong and better able to hold you in check. And yet from so many indignities that the beasts themselves, could they be conscious of them, would not endure, you may deliver yourselves, if you but make an effort to show the will to do it. Once resolve to be

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

no longer slaves and you are already free. I do not say that you should assail him, or shake his seat; merely support him no longer and you will see that, like a great Colossus whose basis has been removed from beneath him, he will fall by his own weight and break to pieces."

* * *

DATES OF EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURE TOUR

Dec. 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, Sunday the 12th, afternoon and evening St. Louis, at The Open Forum.

Dec. 14th and 15th, Indianapolis, Ind., at Odeon Hall, Metropolitan Music Bldg., cor. Pennsylvania and North Street.

Dec. 15th and 17th, Columbus, Ohio, at Masonic Cathedral, 186 South Third Street.

Dec. 18th, Akron, Ohio, at Kayser Hall.

Dec. 19th, at 3 P. M. and 8 P. M., at Pythian Temple, Huron Road, Cleveland, Ohio, also in Jewish at Royal Hall, Dec. 20th.

Dec. 21st, Youngstown, Ohio.

Sunday, Jan. 9th, 8 P. M., in New York. Hall to be announced later.

CAPLAN-SCHMIDT DEFENSE FUND

Previous total (as per report November Mother Earth)	$1,637.10
Ladies' Waist & Dressmakers Union, Local 25	5.00
B. Bolk of Newark, N. J	2.00
Subscription List 42 Coll. by Rose Felberg	1.00
Subscription List 4 Collected by S. Rothman	1.50
Subscription List 8 Collected by Mr. Plotkin	1.75
Subscription List 15 Collected by Louise Berger	1.65
Independent Bucharest Ass'n	5.00
Radical Library, Branch 273, Workmen's Circle	13.15
Philadelphia E. G. Jewish meeting	$18.0[illegible]
Pittsburgh E. G. English meeting	33.00
Pittsburgh Comrades from Yanovsky meeting	7.25
Pittsburgh Meitlin donation	5.00
Detroit E. G. Jewish meeting	14.75
	$1.746.15

Correction: In the October issue it was stated that $41 was collected at a Mass Meeting in Philadelphia. It should have read $41 was collected by the Radical Library, at A. Berkman's meeting in Philadelphia.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

TO ART STUDENTS

There is room for a few more pupils in the Art Class at the Ferrer Centre, 63 East 107th Street, New York. The Class is held on Monday and Friday evenings. The Tuition Fee is two dollars a month. The Instructors are Robert Henri and George Bellows.

WANTED—Anybody who has a first edition of Edgar Lee Masters, "Spoon River Anthology" and is willing to part with same at a reasonable price, communicate with Leopold Fleischmann, General Delivery, Pasadena, California.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of August 24, 1912, of MOTHER EARTH, published monthly in New York City, for April 1, 1915. Editor, Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., N. Y. City; Managing Editor, Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., N. Y. City; Business Manager, Dr. Ben. L. Reitman, 20 E. 125th St., N. Y. City; Publisher, Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., N. Y. City; Owner—Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., N. Y. City. Bondholders and security holders—None.

BEN. L. REITMAN, M.D., Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of October, 1915.

GEORGE W. BURNHAM,
(Seal) Notary Public, No. 1127, N. Y. County,
(My commission expires February 16, 1917.)

THE POET IN THE DESERT

By Charles Erskine Scott Wood

A series of poems with the atmosphere of "The Great American Desert." The thought is pantheistic and revolutionary. For sale: In New York—The Masses Bookstore, 142 West 23d Street; Mother Earth, 20 East 125th Street; and Brentanos. Chicago—Walter Hill, Marshall Field Building. San Francisco—The White House.

PRICE $1.00

Digitized by Google

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Spoon River Anthology

By Edgar Lee Masters

Send $1.50 to

Mother Earth

20 East 125th Street New York City

GRAND CONCERT AND BALL

Celebration of Twenty-fifth Anniversary of

"VOLNE LISTY"

(Bohemian Anarchist's Monthly)

Arranged by

Workingmen's Educational Groups

With Assistance of Professional Singers and Players

AT BOHEMIAN NATIONAL HALL

321-325 East 73rd St.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 26th, 1915

Beginning at 3 o'clock P. M.

Admission 25c. **Wardrobe 10c.**

Digitized by Google

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

EVERY RADICAL MUST READ THIS

HOW WE SHALL BRING ABOUT THE REVOLUTION!

Syndicalism

AND THE

Cooperative Commonwealth

by PATAUD and POUGET

Foreword by Tom Mann
Preface by Peter Kropotkin
Drawings by Will Dyson

This handbook of Syndicalism, the precepts of which the French Syndicalists failed to observe in entering the war, can now be obtained for

FIFTY CENTS

from

MOTHER EARTH

20 East 125th St.
NEW YORK CITY

Google

Digitized by HARVARD UNIVERSITY